Contemporary Migrant Families

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Actors and Issues

Edited by

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and Justyna Struzik

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part II. Transnational Families Here and There

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

MAGDALENA ŚLUSARCZYK,
PAULA PUSTUŁKA AND JUSTYNA STRUZIK

Despite extensive and continuous academic interest in migrant and transnational families (see, for example, Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Goulbourne et al. 2010; Parreñas 2005; Dreby 2010; Slany et al. 2018), a stereotypical view is still that those leading mobile lives are somehow beyond the contours of normativity. This concerns both kinship and family practices of "familyhood" across borders, and the bi- or multicultural settings of providing or offering care. Specifically, because family and care are strongly value-laden terms, they are usually talked about in connection with migration and mobility in predominantly negative contexts. Consequently, we primarily hear about migration leading to broken relationships, dissolution of families and bonds, substandard provisions of care, abandonment, exploitation of employees and so on. In this climate of public imagination of migrants either being "dangerous" or concurrently stealing one's job and scrounging off the welfare, it is no small feat to be a migration scholar.

Trying to overcome the universalising views that essentialise human experience requires a wholly different point of departure, which we wish to take on in this volume on *Contemporary Migrant Families: Actors and Issues*. This is because a now-well-established transnational paradigm allows for a more nuanced analysis, originating with the premise that not only normalises mobility but also proves that various ties and relationships can be continued in the long-term despite spatial distance (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Slany et al. 2018). In other words, a transnational paradigm certainly accounts for migration challenges and their resulting family and care tensions, but it equally sheds light on the affective work linked to maintaining connections across borders. We therefore talk about both the technology-mediated and diffused practices in the contexts of physical separation, and ascertaining typical forms of "doing family" (Morgan 1996) during the process of visiting friends and relatives as migrants (Pustułka and Ślusarczyk 2016). Analogously, the global circulation of

care has been primarily viewed as problematic, even though the interplay between shortages (in the destination states) and migrants' absence resulting from economic struggles (in the sending countries) calls for an understanding of this process as somewhat of a necessity (Baldassar and Merla 2013). On the whole, a transnational lens may further showcase how new family practices are devised and deployed in mobile family lives, thus allowing an argument that migration shall not only hinder but also enrich certain dimensions of contemporary family life and caregiving.

This book plays on the dichotomy of migration as "the new normal" and mobility as a continuous source of challenges. It was originally inspired by a multifaceted study on transnational families conducted under the framework of the *TRANSFAM* project[1] from 2013 to 2016. Four research teams in Poland and Norway drew on the idea of "doing family" (Morgan 1996) through everyday routine and creative practices within the mobility processes (see Slany et al. 2018). The core issues examined in this inquiry concerned such problems as maintaining kinship ties across borders, new patterns of mothering and fathering, children's sense of belonging and identifications, and social capital and engagement in a community life. The study revealed that "doing family" in the migration context often eludes simple definitions of national space or typical family. Instead, it offered a transnational understanding of how a person practically and pragmatically arranges one's family and kinship, strategically choosing pathways of care, child-rearing, relationships at home, maintaining traditions and so forth (ibid.). To reiterate, it was found in the study that people's experiences of international mobility are always a composite of "good" and "bad", rarely eliciting a clear-cut purely positive or completely negative outlook on the role of migration for different aspects like family, care, employment, values, sense of safety or overall happiness.

We believe that the contributions collected for this volume illustrate the very point made above, particularly zooming in on the fact that contemporary families are neither monolithic nor isolated. The present volume is grounded in family and care issues being at the core of multiple

[1] The *Transfam* project (full title: *Doing Family in Transnational Context. Demographic Choices, Welfare Adaptations, School Integration and Every-day Life of Polish Families Living in Polish-Norwegian Transnationality)* was completed by an international consortium led by the Jagiellonian University from 2013 to 2016. *Transfam* received funding from the Polish-Norwegian Research Programme operated by the National Centre for Research and Development under the Norwegian Financial Mechanism 2009–2014 in the frame of Project Contract No. Pol-Nor/197905/4/2013.

interests and stakeholders, especially with reference to politics and policies. The book provides us also with a discussion on the intersection of migrant families' practices with, among other factors, gender roles, (trans)national identities, dilemmas and risks related to raising children in multicultural settings. This is because families bear undeniable connectivity and relevance for multiple actors. While migrant individuals operate within nuclear families abroad, they also belong to extended and multilocal kinships structures (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002). A growing presence of wider families and communities affected by contemporary migration "here" and "there" in turn impacts the broader social challenges and warrants policy innovations in care, health, education, diaspora and so on. Multiple agents should continuously be seen as involved in migrant family meaning-making while stakeholders at different levels can contribute to altering the focus to family issues that become more pressing at certain times.

The volume enters into a discussion on an unstable and complex image of care-related issues and practices, especially when it comes to multiple care services provided by migrants and availability or accessibility of the public care sector (e.g., healthcare) to migrant populations. There are an infinite number of studies showing the complexity of the care phenomenon through the lens of gender, class, religion, ethnic and racial relations (Parreñas 2001; Slany et al. 2018), but also demonstrating global processes and shifts regarding mobility, inequalities and access to social security provisions (Hochschild 2000). Interestingly here, focusing on migration, care and social policies allows us to unpack currently emerging social, cultural and economic processes and occurrences like ageing societies, declining fertility, precarious and unstable labour, new models of family life, global care chains, right-wing shifts in public life or growing divisions in the communities (Hochschild 2016). It may also facilitate a better grasp on the presence of anti-immigration attitudes and behaviours in the realm of shrinking welfare programs.

The book also offers an exploration of a certain "normalcy" or casualness of migrant families' practices by demonstrating how these experiences become an ordinary part of the social landscape and how they are anchored in transnational spaces. Such insights, often linking macro and micro levels of analysis, enable scholars and researchers to disentangle a complexity of migrant families' lives by demonstrating how they negotiate, construct and reconstruct their positions, roles, capacity and agency in the social spaces they live in. One example of such an approach toward social research could be provided by the above-mentioned *TRANSFAM* project, in which everyday family habits and

activities have been used for defining the meanings of transnational spaces and exploring a sense of belonging performed by different family members and their communities.

The present publication explores the phenomenon of contemporary migrant families by focusing on selected important issues and actors, especially those actively shaping the realities of migrant communities. The questions brought up in the volume cover, among others, the following problems: providing and receiving care services in and by migrant communities, ageing-related challenges, healthcare experiences, education and integration processes, language and identity. Actors, and their roles, agency and capacities, explored in this book include (but are not limited to) care workers, migrants as patients, children in families and schools, their parents, families left behind, and non-human actors from an institutional spectrum (i.e., healthcare system, education policies, nation-states and so on).

Building on the themes discussed above, this book is divided into two parts. Importantly, both sections benefit from initial chapters by renowned scholars, specifically Professor Sandra Torres examining migration politics through care and Professor Anne White looking at how European sending and receiving countries frame migrant families. These works are complemented by chapters contributed by other authors.

The first part of the book comprises four chapters under the heading "Migrant Experiences Around Care and Health". This section of the book not only furnishes theoretical conceptualisations of the care and mobility nexus but also showcases empirical examples of what migrants do when it comes to caring and health, both in the countries of origin and destination. Highlighting transnational experiences, this part of the volume looks at how migrants handle elderly care, as well as how they approach their health as migrants and migrant parents. The second part of the book, titled "Transnational Families Here and There", encompasses six chapters on the daily lives led in the context of migrant kinship structures. In this section, the authors address decisions that need to be made because of mobility, as well as practices and strategies that migrants engage in and develop in order to accomplish their life goals and fulfil moral obligations abroad and back home. The focus is often on the longer trajectories of mobile lives "here" and "there", which means, on the one hand, migrants working toward a better future (for themselves and their offspring) abroad and, on the other hand, maintaining bonds and connections with the country or locality of origin.

The opening chapter of the first part of the book is a thought-provoking piece on "Expanding the Imagination of Care Scholarship through Studies

at the Intersection between Ageing/Old Age and Migration" by Sandra Torres. The author argues that the juncture of ageing societies and global migration processes shall be explored as a conceptual field, as well as in relation to practical policy challenges. She emphasises that the two social phenomena are inherently connected and that looking at them together serves as an opportunity to find new pathways for social policy, especially as previous solutions are no longer sufficient. Torres analyses the way in which care scholarship evolved, particularly after its cultural and gendered character had been noted. After underlining the importance of intersectionality, she discusses incorporation of new dimensions like social class and ethnicity into novel definitions of care as "social good" (Daly 2002), which are key for social policy issues. While Sandra Torres expertly engages with ideas around continuity and discontinuity around ageing, these concepts can be overlain with the ideas of sedentarism and mobility in migration studies, shifting our common assumptions about the normative identities toward flexibility and denouncing the "sole negativity" of functioning in bi-cultural contexts (as migrants, carers, etc.). The chapter postulates foregrounding the cultural aspect of caring in transnational analyses of contemporary demographic shifts and ageing societies affected by migration. This culture-led understanding of care could change the construction of obligations and expectations toward migrants.

Patrycja Kniejska seemingly responds to Sandra Torres' call in the following chapter, as she discusses ambiguity within emotional labour performed by migrants in the domestic work sector. In her chapter, "When Work Becomes Family: Function and Dynamics of the 'Professional Familiarisation' in the Transnational Domestic Care Network Between Poland and Germany", we find empirical illustration of the importance of redefining care. With the use of a multi-level approach, Kniejska analyses the employment and living conditions of migrants taking care of the elderly in Germany. The author specifically looks at live-in carers who share home-space with their employers and proposes to look at care in a multidimensional manner, depicting strong bonds between the carers and their charges. She argues that these relationships frequently transgress the standard employer-employee relation, thus leading to a so-called "professional familiarisation". Vitally supplementing the model are also other fields of relationality within the care setup, as the author factors in the care person's relations with their charge's family, as well as ties with their institutional context via representatives of healthcare professionals and social workers.

The two remaining chapters in this section shift the focus from broad aspects of care to the more practical arena of health practices. Both studies concern a specific example of Polish migrants in Norway, and it should be noted that this is a very recent population flow (see also Slany et al. 2018). In that sense, the analysis shows how new migrants deal with healthcare matters but also contribute significantly to the debate on the commonly understudied family migration patterns and practices within Europe (see Ryan and Sales 2013) and beyond. What is more, they also tackle what may be the most sensitive area in which it is generally difficult to declare "success" or "failure" with respect to migration. Unlike in employment, for which job satisfaction, social protections or income levels can be identified and probed for in a somewhat objectively comparable manner for the two nation-states, embedding one's health in a broad state system does not eliminate the focus on the intimate, personal and highly subjective views.

The chapter by Justyna Struzik, Justyna Bell, Paula Pustułka and Magdalena Ślusarczyk paints an overview of how migrants handle the profound cultural and systemic discrepancies of the two national healthcare systems. This work, titled "Handling Ambivalence: Transnational Health Practices and Migrant Evaluations of Health Services", looks at the continuum of reactions and assessments that migrants express when they are probed about their contact with healthcare services in the destination country. The authors argue that migrants develop a range of coping strategies for handling ambivalence and safeguard the best possible care for themselves and their children. The evaluations that the respondents of this study arrived at mirrored the multifaceted tensions between Eastern/Western Europe and social welfare and neo-liberal healthcare service models. They also testify to the feelings of disenchantment and possible discrimination, as well as factor in the role of the passage of time in tipping the balance in favour of a more nuanced or even positive view on healthcare systems abroad.

Similarly, in the subsequent chapter Magdalena Gajewska and Magdalena Żadkowska underline the fact that contrasting Norwegian health services with experiences from Poland should be seen as culture shock. The authors also look at a very sensitive topic, namely "The Polish Experience of Childbirth in Norway as an Element of Acculturation of Poles: Narrative Analysis". As has been argued elsewhere, the context of reproduction and having children is emotionally charged (see, for example, DeSouza 2004), and it is quite astounding to see this come into play in the intra-European context of presumed cross-national similarities in the care frameworks. Conversely, some interviewees in the study were

simply unable to accept a model of care starkly different from the one they have known from Poland. By analysing experiences of families with Norway-born children, Gajewska and Żadkowska indicate another issue at hand, namely that childbirth is not an individual or medical experience only, but rather a transformative event. Though it dramatically changes the inner-workings of a family situation, a birth of a child additionally has a major cultural significance. The authors show that if it takes place in Norway it may constitute the first step toward integration.

Across the two chapters, Struzik, Bell, Pustułka and Ślusarczyk, as well as Gajewska and Żadkowska, catalogue transnational strategies for navigating health issues across national borders. The authors supplied migrants' accounts centred on childbearing and children's health (i.e., in terms of specialist intervention or prescribing antibiotics). These were rigidly set in cultural superiority convictions and were not particularly malleable. In order to feel safe and adhere to the cultural model of a good parent (or parent-to-be), as well as to simply cope with cultural discomfort, migrants found ways of handling health cross-nationally/transnationally. This practical arena of migrant health entails having annual check-ups in Poland, flying back for appointments or having ethnic doctors in Norway. As such, it ties back to the opening chapter by Torres and the work of Kniejska, clearly evidencing consequences of care models that lack intercultural sensitivity and affect migrant lives in profound ways.

The second part of the volume begins with a broad review chapter by Anne White. In "Sending and Receiving Country Perspectives on Family Migration", the author underlined the paramount need for accounting for both sides of the migratory process, thus regarding sending and destination states as critical for understanding mobility. The main argument is that not only migrants but also those who stayed are affected by their peers' or network members' mobility, so the latter point of view should also be incorporated into the analyses. White sees social remittances as a topic ultimately requiring such bifocal attention because the expectancies, obligations and their fulfilment are constructed and realised by both movers and stayers. The new practices, values, norms, ideas, solutions or forms of action that migrants acquire do not remain in the isolated context of their homes/families but rather extend—to varying degrees—to their broader communities in the home country. White also encourages researchers to explore new themes of transnational family practices despite certain saturation. She wonders, for instance, how transnational practices and identities change with the passage of time, expressing interest in whether some issues remain significant while others disappear.

As in the first part of the book, here we also witness a sequence in which the next author—Anna Horolets—appears to directly respond to the call made by White in the section-opening chapter. Horolets specifically examines one of the transnational family practices that greatly impacts those who moved and those who stayed, looking at short-term migrant return visits. This work also has a temporal dimension that is important for the longevity of migrant ties with the country/locality or family of origin. In her work "On Holiday? Polish Migrants Visit their Families in Poland", Horolets nevertheless challenges the common view that going back home equals "vacation". She instead suggests that visits are linked to complexities of families "here" and "there", signifying a plethora of non-leisure meanings and motives connected to international migrants' stays in Poland. The author points out that migrants fulfil the family obligations and conduct a lot of business "pragmatically", meaning that they act on the belief that certain services are marked by better quality or accessibility in the sending country. One example connects this work to earlier chapters in the book as Horolets discusses general practitioner (GP) and specialist visits, as well as dental prophylactics. The author focuses also on tensions that the visits evoke, both for stayers who expect migrants to be "fully available" for family functions and tasks, and for migrants who are often tired after driving long hours to visit all relatives without actually getting any leisure time or rest. At the same time, Horolets believes that visiting Poland may still be a significant family project, a time dedicated to maintaining family memory as well as collecting new experiences in the homeland.

The next three chapters by Lopez Rodriguez, by Mazurkiewicz, and by Share, Kerrins and Williams, respectively, continue the discussion on migrant daily lives, yet centre on operating in the receiving states of the United Kingdom and Ireland. All three are linked to key aspects of modern families, focusing on the competing realms of socialisation and adaptation in a multicultural context of national and migrant identities. Two studies concern transmission of capital and gender identities, while the third looks specifically at migration-related language issues. Together the chapters highlight the fact that even in the case of a single practice like language learning, multiple social actors from different family members to the institutional context are taking part in framing what is appropriate, allowed or desirable. In addition, reading the three chapters together gives one a great overview of how intergenerational relations operate in modern migrant families. Specifically, we can see the dynamics of parental views on child-rearing and how they are mitigated by resources and institutions, yet we can also infer that certain practices are connected to broader social

networks and kinship in the country of origin, for instance when it comes to learning the language that enables communication with the migrant children's grandparents. Along these lines, an intragenerational lens can also be discerned when coupledom is showcased, again proving the links and interdependencies between different family and non-family actors.

In her work "How do Polish Migrant Mothers in the UK Deploy Cultural Capital when Negotiating their Children's Educational Prospects?", Magdalena Lopez Rodriguez foregrounds the matter of educational chances and pathways among children with migratory backgrounds. Since education is one of the most important values for Poles, migrant mothers perform numerous actions that can alleviate the negative consequences of perceived or actual exclusion or marginalisation when it comes to their children. The author demarcates different strategies, particularly underscoring two components—ethnicity and religion—as key items in the maternal cultural capital and strategy repertoire in the context of Poles in the UK. She shows how these resources can be drawn upon in an institutional sense; for instance, when religious identification is used as a stepping stone for accessing schools that are better ranked. The analysis not only reiterates the importance of mothers as migration actors with powerful agency but also clarifies the fact that migrants are evidently forward-looking and hopeful for their children to be upwardly mobile in the receiving society. Again, the possible challenges of migration do not undercut the educational aspirations that mobile individuals hold for their offspring.

The subsequent chapter, "The Breadwinner and the Housekeeper: Constructions of Gender Identities in Post-2004 Polish Migration to Ireland" by Natalia Mazurkiewicz, focuses on the idea of "a good life". Offering an interesting challenge to the normative views, in this case looking at what it means to be happy or successful, this chapter looks at how migrants fulfil their main goals, which are surprisingly shifted away from evident economic success. In fact, family migrants in the analysed couples viewed a "good life" as satisfying when it was marked by stability and sense of security. Mazurkiewicz zooms in on the mechanism that guarantees achievement of these goals, which she discovered to be rooted in acceptance and maintenance of traditional gender roles. The focus on family became a route to a happy life for the study respondents who were content with men being sole breadwinners and women being tasked with caring for the homestead. Behind this facade, Mazurkiewicz also reveals that this idyllic setup means that women get a chance of being socially recognised through their statuses of mother, wife and homemaker. While they do not have opportunities for accomplishing other non-family goals,

their Irish surroundings do not penalise but may rather embrace family-based identities, granting them alternative positioning in the broader social structure of the destination state.

In the last chapter of the aforementioned three, Michelle Share, Liz Kerrins and Cayla Williams take on migrants caring for their second-generation immigrant children, looking at parental views on transmitting their home country's language to children born and raised abroad. The chapter, titled "'I Just Can't Imagine If My Kids Will Not Speak, Will Not Write and Read in Polish': Heritage Language Transmission Among Polish Families in the Republic of Ireland", presents intra-family language politics in the context of outer/institutional policies of the Irish educational frameworks. The authors shed light on the motivations behind the desire to teach children Polish, as well as catalogue best practices that can be effective in the face of barriers and difficulties. The authors convincingly demonstrate the lack of support from the local educational system, which essentially translates to the entire burden of heritage and language transmission being placed on the family.

Finally, the last chapter of the volume presents a different view on long-term consequences of migration for families, particularly as it utilises a quantitative approach. In "Transmission of the Culture of Migration: Growing Up to Transnationalism", Bartłomiej Walczak returns to the sending country perspective. The author attempts to identify a particular social process of being socialised to migration by the pervasive migration culture in the surroundings of contemporary youth. Walczak wonders what factors—also in terms of earlier family migration—influence the young people's views and convictions about migration being the correct and most appropriate life choice and strategy for them. The chapter centres on intergenerational transfer, posing a question about family transnationalism being conducive to mobility. Moreover, the author concludes with notes on what the continuously high migration readiness of young people means for the nation-state's social policy and politics.

In conclusion, this volume therefore manages to bring together numerous contributions that reiterate what kinds of issues migrant families are tackling, addressing both certain challenges and the more successful and positive practices that lead to happiness, greater social or educational capital, mitigation of adverse circumstances or effective upward mobility. Through conceptual and empirical examples, the authors demonstrated that a lot of assumptions about families and caring on the move can be nuanced, expanded or simply viewed from a pragmatic stance that human actors generally tend to assume. What is more, the book closes the gap on

the many topics that are still little explored, especially in the European context of mobility and care research.

It can be argued that very different actors are represented throughout this book. Some authors focused on the macro-level actors and highlighted how nation-states must conceive policies that respond to mobility, while some argued that governments should engage with global populations due to ageing, care deficits or simply migration cultures and vast diasporas that are too pervasive to ignore. Those interested in the meso level honed in on the extended family and community actors. Even though many studies centre on Polish migrants, they can still be seen as illustrative and in part applicable to other migrant groups within the contemporary intra-European flows, and they may even shed light on the broader global realm. Particularly worthwhile are permeating arguments about the importance of seeing "here" and "there" as interdependent, be it through familial social remittances, home visits, or transnational health strategies and care provisions. As we also learn a lot about individual actors, as migrant family members are given voice and indirectly "share" their stories with readers of this volume, we do not shy away from an individual-level perspective and meanings of migration for personal biographies and histories. To conclude, we hope that the audience finds this volume to be an interesting resource on the key actors within increasingly transnational modern lives.

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PART I.

MIGRANT EXPERIENCES AROUND CARE AND HEALTH

CHAPTER ONE

EXPANDING THE IMAGINATION OF CARE SCHOLARSHIP THROUGH STUDIES AT THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN AGEING/ OLD AGE AND MIGRATION

SANDRA TORRES

Introduction

The allusion to the "imagination" of care scholarship in this chapter's title draws inspiration from C. Wright Mills' (1959) seminal work *The Sociological Imagination* and the numerous debates that his work has ignited ever since its publication. To expand the imagination of a specific scholarship is to unleash the intellectual creativity of a scientific field through critical reflection upon the research questions that are deemed to be interesting (and the ones that have yet to be proposed), the assumptions behind them and the ways in which research questions are formulated and grappled with. It is my belief that the intellectual creativity of a field can be unleashed by the mere fact that a new context is introduced into a field's radar and/or by the mere attempt to shift attention from one stage of the life-course to another. This is why I am proposing that both the context of migration and the life-course stage we tend to refer to as old age are interesting starting points for care scholarship. This chapter argues that the intersection between ageing/old age and migration is a theoretically abundant source of information about an array of care-related issues. I am arguing this because I believe that studies that take this intersection as their starting point have the capacity to contribute to expanding our imagination regarding how care is conceptualised and how caring relationships are established (and nurtured over time and space). I also believe that such studies could contribute to care scholarship's understandings of how care arrangements can be shaped by the policies

that welfare states design to address the needs of the most vulnerable segments of their populations and, as I will show later on, how these segments of our populations go about navigating such policies. Phrased differently, one could say that this chapter argues that studies that take this intersection as their starting point have the potential to expand the imagination of care scholarship.

Before we begin it seems necessary to acknowledge that studies on ageing that have aimed to contribute to care scholarship have been part of the care vernacular for several decades now (e.g., Bengtson and Roberts 1991), and that the same is true for migration-informed studies (e.g., Browne and Braun 2008; Yeates 2004); thus, I am arguing here for two starting points that are recognised in their own rights. In spite of this, the intersection between ageing/old age and migration is not yet regarded as the theoretically rich source of information about care that it is. Even though some of us have implicitly suggested that much could be gained by launching inquiries into care, care arrangements, care relationships and care practices that take this intersection as their starting point (see, for example, Ackers 2004; Baldassar 2007; Karl and Torres 2016), the time has come to make a more explicit case for why this is so.

This chapter's aims are threefold since different types of scholars are going to be addressed in the sections that follow. First, I want to raise interest in ageing and old age as a stage of the life-course that offers theoretically rich sources of information about migration. Second, I want to draw ageing and old age scholars' attention to the fact that both migration (as a phenomenon) and the migratory life-course (with the specific ageing circumstances that this type of life-course entails) offer numerous angles of interrogation from which their scholarship can be developed further. Third, this chapter proposes that care scholarship could benefit from launching studies at the intersection between ageing/old age and migration since such studies have the potential to contribute to what "the third generation of care theorists" seem to be wanting to do, namely to shift care scholars' attention from caregiving as a relationship to caregiving as a cultural practice.

Generations of care scholarship: how our understandings of care have evolved

Scholars who have focused on dismantling the ways in which the conceptualisation of care has developed over the past four decades often talk about the fact that one can think of care scholarship in terms of generations. This is at least what Hankivsky (2004) suggested when she

traced back how care conceptualisations have evolved within the feminist tradition known as the ethics of care (see also Anttonen and Zechner 2011, who have argued the same). Hankivsky (2004, 40) argued, namely, that care—an activity that Fisher and Tronto have proposed "includes everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible" (1990, 40)—was originally conceived "as a form of moral reasoning that emerged from the experiences of mothering, caring and nurturing" (Hankivsky 2004, 11–12). Care conceptualisations began, in other words, as preconceptions about what used to be considered "typical" women's activities and practices. As such, these conceptualisations originally took for granted that the mother-child relationship is the relationship that caring relationships are modelled on (see also Noddings 1984).

According to Anttonen and Zechner (2011), the first generation of care scholarship started in the 1960s when research on domestic labour first came about. Those who debated what housework was at that point in time focused their attention on the economic value of this type of work and the fact that it often went unnoticed. This is how they managed to put women's unpaid care labour on the social scientific agenda. In the early 1980s Scandinavian researchers like Kari Wærness (1984) started to draw attention away from the family to the women who worked within the different welfare sectors that provide care throughout the life-course to people to whom they were not related by blood. Although the first generation of care scholars was primarily concerned with the monetary transactions (or lack thereof) that took place as a result of care provision, their focus thus spanned from the care that was offered within families to the care that institutions offer to those in need.

Concepts such as Wærness' (1984) rationality of care and Gilligan's (1982) ethics of care versus ethics of justice are part of the legacy of the first generation of care scholars. The rationality of care drew attention to the fact that the complexities associated with care work cannot be understood if we fail to take into account the fact that the rationality of care is "different from and to some degree contradictory to the scientific rationality on which personal authority and control in the field of reproduction is legitimated" (Gilligan 1982, 195). The ethics of care, in turn, drew attention to the gendered way in which rationality used to be (and some would probably claim still is) understood. Gilligan (ibid.) argued that boys and girls tend to develop different moral orientations; girls orient themselves toward the ethics of care while boys most often take the ethics of justice as their point of departure. Their different ways of orienting themselves in moral matters is not the problem, she claimed.

Instead, the problem is that we value one rationality more than the other (see also Tronto 1993 and 2013, Olthuis, Kohlen, and Heier 2014, and Barnes et al. 2015, who have all contributed to this debate). According to Gilligan (1982), the notion of the ethics of care brings attention to responsibility and commitment rather than to rules, which is what the ethics of justice focuses on. It is worth noting that the former was developed in order to argue against the hierarchisation of morality. This was not, in other words, a concept developed specifically for care scholarship, even if most scholars of care now agree that Gilligan's notion of ethics of care was pivotal to how care scholarship has evolved.

A few years later, Tronto (1987) criticised the implicit assumptions that underline Gilligan's work (i.e., the assumption that women's activities—including their reasoning—are essentially different from the activities that men are particularly interested in). She problematised Gilligan's arguments because the latter's work considered neither the differences that exist among women nor the fact that care can be an oppressive endeavour. Tronto also posited that the concept of the ethics of care inadvertently claims that women are "natural caregivers"—a matter that has been heavily criticised by others as well (see, for example, Walker 1984 and most recently Wallroth 2016). Although numerous debates have taken place around the concept of care, it is thus fair to say that the first generation of care researchers, in their quest to put the question of women's care work on the agenda, tended to regard—albeit unintentionally—women as the caregivers *par excellence*. In doing so, they highlighted the gendered aspects of care at the expense of other aspects that are also important, such as class, race and ethnicity (Stack 1986).

The second generation of care theorists tried to emphasise intersectionality instead. This generation did not, in other words, focus solely on the difference between men and women (see, for example, Fisher and Tronto 1990, as well as Tronto 1987, 1993, 1995 and 2013). Phrased differently, one could say that the second generation wanted to free the conceptualisation of care from the gendered shackles that the debates of the first generation had created. It is also worth noting that I write "tried" and "wanted", since Hankivsky (2004) has argued that despite the second-generation care theorists wanting to focus on intersectionality, most of them continued to regard gender as the social position of choice when discussing caring relationships. In spite of this, it is fair to say that the second generation of care theorists tried to draw attention to the differences that exist between women and not just the differences between women and men. Their work drew attention to the ways in which care work (irrespective of whether it is paid or unpaid) intersects with other

social positions (such as class and ethnicity, to name the two that have received the most attention so far). This generation of care researchers introduced concepts such as "care as citizenship" (Knijn and Kremer 1997) and "care as a social good" (Daly 2002). In doing so, they brought attention to the implications that care regimes have for how care arrangements are shaped and the various effects that specific policies (such as pension plans, maternity leave schemes and childcare systems) can have on how care arrangements are made. Daly (2002) argued, for example, that care scholarship had relied too heavily on differentiations (such as those between paid and unpaid care or those between formal and informal care). In doing so, an unnecessary distinction between what caring for children and caring for older people entails on the one hand, and between what it means to be a caregiver and a care provider on the other, was generated. Daly argued also that caring blurs the boundaries between family, state and market, which is why she proposed that we need to think of it not only as a social good but as a policy good as well (see also Tronto 2013 and Sevenhuijsen 1998, who have argued that care needs to be taken into greater account by policy makers).

Care is, in other words, a public as well as a private responsibility, it can be performed as both paid and unpaid work, it is both formally and informally provided, and it is delivered in non-profit as well as for-profit arrangements. This is why the second generation of care scholars brought attention to care as a gendered, raced and classed practice but also as a practice that is culturally defined and historically situated. It thus seems plausible to claim that it was the second generation of care theorists who began to deconstruct the concept of care rather than the activity of caregiving (with which the first generation seemed to be most concerned). In doing so, they drew attention not only to the fact that care often involves mutual dependence but also that the positions of caregiver and care recipient can be interchangeable.

One of the latest contributions to care scholarship can be found in the work of Wallroth (2016), who uses masculinity scholarship to inform care research. In her review of care scholarship, she proposes that researchers such as Hoschschild (1995) and Calasanti (2003) could be deemed to belong to the third generation of care scholars since they stress the cultural aspect of what motivates people to provide the type of care in which they are willing to engage. As such, these scholars regard care as a cultural ideal and practice, and not just a relational activity. It is, among other things, this focus on care ideals and practices that I think the intersection between ageing/old age and migration could contribute to.

Population ageing and the globalisation of international migration: rich sources of information about care

This section brings attention to the two societal trends (i.e., population ageing and the globalisation of international migration) that make the intersection between ageing/old age and migration an interesting starting point from which care scholarship can be expanded. This intersection draws attention to the time and space continuum in which care takes place but does so in a unique way. With respect to time, ageing/old age bring attention to the end-of-the-life-course as opposed to childhood (which is what care scholars have most often focused on). With respect to space, migration is characterised by discontinuity as opposed to continuity (which is what is often believed to be necessary for good quality of life in old age). Migration from one society to another means (in some cases at least) that one has moved to a space characterised by norms, values, regulations and expectations with which one may not be familiar. With regards to care this means that crossing geographical borders when one moves from one location to another can sometimes entail exposure to new care understandings that question what one has taken for granted as far as care culture is concerned, how care can be arranged and how good caring relationships are shaped.

The fact that the globalisation of international migration has brought about a new form of migration known as transnationalism is also something worth considering. This migration form means that some migrants do not move from one place to another once and for all (or move from "there" to "here", as migration scholars often refer to traditional migration patterns) but rather move back and forth between places (which means that they are both "here" and "there" at the same time). This is something that could affect not only the care arrangements that people make but also the care expectations that different kinds of migrants have as far as old age is concerned (see Torres 2013, where I discuss transnationalism in relation to ageing and old age specifically). The globalisation of international migration has, in other words, brought about a new era in migration scholarship (Castles and Miller 1998). This era has challenged some of the taken-for-granted assumptions that migration scholarship builds upon (such as the assumption of what a temporary and a permanent migrant are, what being a receiving and a sending country means, and who migrants are since more and more women are migrating these days and there is also increased diversity within migrant groups). It is against this backdrop that I have argued that the globalisation of international migration, the new forms of migration that this entails and

the diversity of migrants that this phenomenon has brought about are all bound to have an effect on how care in old age is made sense of, delivered and experienced (Torres 2013).

With regards to population ageing specifically, it seems important to note that it used to be the case that reaching old age was an exceptional thing. Vallin (2002) writes, for example, that the unprecedented changes that we are bound to face as life expectancy has risen as dramatically as it has can only be understood against the backdrop offered by the fact that for the largest part of human history average life expectancy was actually as low as twenty-five years of age. The fact that more and more people today are reaching old age, and that this is the case worldwide, is therefore something exceptional since living into old age was not something most people did some decades ago. While only 8% of the world's population was sixty years old or older in 1950, this segment of the population is expected to be 21% by 2050. It is against this backdrop that the "alarmist discourse" of population ageing must be made sense of. As a critical gerontologist who regards ageing as a natural part of the life-course, and old age as a positive stage in our lives, Katz (1992) does not regard population ageing as a catastrophe but rather as an extension of the opportunities that the life-course offers. This is why he describes the discourse on population ageing as "alarmist demography". He argues that the reason demographers tend to regard population ageing as a problem is because this phenomenon is challenging almost all of the taken-for-granted assumptions upon which demography is based. Just as the globalisation of international migration is a societal trend that has caused migration scholars to question most of what they have taken for granted, population ageing is a phenomenon that has meant the end of the world as demographers have known it. Although population ageing is a demographic phenomenon with an end result (i.e., greater numbers of older people) that is in fact a testament of humankind's achievements, it is not often regarded as such. Irrespective of how we regard population ageing, this phenomenon offers numerous angles of study for care scholarship since the transition to advanced old age means that more and more people could add care-dependent years to their lives and that more and more people must, in turn, grapple with greater caring expectations from their dependent relatives.

The mere fact that population ageing means that more and more people could end up experiencing an increase in the number of years that they end up being care-dependent merits, in and of itself, that care scholars shift their attention from childhood to old age. In addition, the fact that the migratory life-course is an interesting type of life-course that care scholars

have yet to address is also a circumstance that suggests that focusing on this makes sense. This life-course is characterised by discontinuity as opposed to continuity, which is what most ageing/old age scholars assume to be crucial to good quality of life in old age (see Torres 2006, 2008, 2012 and 2013). The life-course disruption that migration entails (especially when one migrates late in life) is, in other words, bound to have an impact on people's care expectations, their ability to provide and receive informal care (see Warnes et al. 2004) and their ability to access formal services in old age due to compromised welfare eligibility (see Torres 2012). The fact that late-in-life migration generates new challenges for welfare sectors around the world that have to provide care in old age for people that have paid tax contributions elsewhere is but one of the many reasons why I believe the intersection of ageing/old age and migration to be a fruitful angle of investigation for care scholarship.

Phrased differently, one could say that population ageing and the globalisation of international migration are societal trends that are generating an array of challenges, not only as far as care provision and recipiency are concerned but also in terms of how welfare regimes go about the business of designing policies to address the care needs of those who grow into advanced old age (as well as how they go about facilitating the reconciliation of work and care that most informal caregivers rely on). The fact that elderly care sectors around the world are experiencing shortages in staff is also something that we must take into account. The globalisation of international migration has likewise also meant that more and more welfare regimes are relying on the import of migrant care workers to meet their welfare sectors' care deficits (Browne and Braun 2008, as well as Yeates 2004, who address the global care chains that I am alluding to here). Overall, the intersection of ageing/old age and migration generates an array of research question about care, care arrangements, care relationships and care practices, which is why I have argued that population ageing and the globalisation of international migration are societal trends that are challenging care scholarship in fruitful ways.

Exploring the potential embedded in the intersection between ageing/old age and migration: examples from ongoing research

In this section, I would like to draw attention to some of the care-related questions that my own ongoing research on media representations of elderly care, end-of-life care providers' understandings of cross-cultural interaction and needs assessment practice has generated. The first project I

would like to draw attention to is a project that is analysing the ways in which the Swedish daily press has addressed issues having to do with migration, ethnicity, culture, language and religion within the elderly care sector. The data corpus for this project is comprised of all of the newspaper articles that have been published by the major national newspapers in Sweden (i.e., *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter*) since the public debate on these issues started in 1995 (see Lindblom and Torres 2011, as well as Torres, Lindblom, and Nordberg 2012, 2014, for findings from this project based on the analysis of one of these newspapers). In one of the analyses we have performed we bring attention to how the recruitment of migrants for elderly care is being discussed as the solution *par excellence* to the staff shortage that the sector is experiencing. The following extract gives a bit of insight into this part of the debate:

> The sector where employment is growing the fastest is care for the elderly—and it is expected that by 2050, one in ten Swedes will be older than 80. Who is going to take care of you when you get old? Demanding that well educated, young Swedes do it would crush their dreams and be enormously costly to the economy and the public finances. So why not let, say, Filipinos do it. They would earn more than they would have in Manila, and Swedes—old as well as young—would benefit from it. (Dagens Nyheter 2008)

This newspaper article illustrates how daily newspaper reporting in this part of the world is presenting the challenges that population ageing poses to a national audience. In this extract, we see how this societal trend is being discussed in relation to the demands on the elderly care sector that a growing number of older people are expected to pose. Something else worth noting here is that the kind of work that the elderly care sector offers is described as work that is not attractive. The article states quite bluntly that the kind of work that elderly care workers perform is not the kind of work that most people "dream" of having; in fact, the prospect of it is a "dream crusher" for some. The fact that people from different national backgrounds are juxtaposed against each other is also worth mentioning: Filipinos would not mind this work while Swedes would rather avoid having to work in this sector. Allusions such as this one reminds us of Robinson (2006). She, who is one of the care scholars that belongs to the second generation of care scholarship alluded to earlier, has argued that when we bring attention to the ethics of care and the discourses surrounding it we highlight the fact that "the values and work associated with care and caring are undervalued and under-resourced globally"